2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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speak to her directly; if he wishes to communicate with her, he must ask another person to address her in his name, or in the absence of anybody he says aloud, so that she can hear: "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I want a drink of milk," or whatever it is he wishes to communicate to her. He must never be alone with her in the hut, and he must never speak about her except in the most respectful terms. The eldest sister, especially, is his *gei tàras*, his great respected one. The highest oath a man can take is to swear by her: *ti /gās ao nu*, as true as my sister is alive. If he should abuse this oath, she can walk into his flock and take his finest cows and sheep. A sister can also be generally relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother is taking part. Even at the present time a man will not sleep in his sister's hut when visiting her as a married woman. One of the most offensive curses in Hottentot life, which will cause even the quietest man to fly into a passion, is *sa /gāsa xae*, commit incest with your sister.

This attitude towards the sister is obligatory also on all the men to whom she applies the relationship term */gāb*, brother, even if they are not her own brothers. Should one of these men use bad language in her presence, she can demand a sheep from him with which to purify herself of the pollution. Similarly a man must treat with respect all the women whom he calls "sister". It would in the old days have been a most heinous offence for a man to have married a woman standing in this relationship to him. "It is an indication," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "of the complete transformation of the organization of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and European influence, that the marriage of direct cousins is now relatively frequent."[1]

Quite *different is the behaviour of a man to those women of his* own generation whom he calls *//nāris*. They are his companions, his playmates; and all is possible with them, free speech and horseplay. Even sexual intercourse would not have been considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that a man married in the old days.[2]

The relationship between brother and sister also affects the relations of children with their father's sister and mother's brother respectively. The attitude of a woman to her brother's children is one of great restraint; and, just as the father himself has to behave with much

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 22; Hahn, "Zur Kunde der Hottentotten," 51; *idem*, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 20-1; von Fransois, op. cit., 202; Schultze, op. cit., 320.
[2] Hoernlé, loc. cit.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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son. In the feminine form, */Uis*, it applies to the wife's mother and the son's wife when a man is speaking. It applies to the husband's mother, the son's wife, the husband's sister, and the brother's wife when a woman is speaking. 601

The husbands of two sisters call each other */Gámireb* or */Gámeb*. The wives of two brothers call each other */Gámes*.

!Oaras is a term sometimes used for the son's wife when a man is speaking. It is a general term applied to women who have married into the sib.

Practically all the old regulations with regard to marriage have broken down among the Hottentots. Marriage with any first cousin is now permitted, though on the other hand the older people are resisting the marriages of first cousins at all, whether direct or cross cousins. There is a difference here from tribe to tribe, some of them being more influenced by European contacts than others but the tendency in all is the same. All my older informants are agreed that the marriage of direct cousins was out of the question in the old days. With regard to the cross cousins there is some difference between the tribes. In some of them, e.g., the *//Habeben*, the *Gei /!Khauan*, the *//Khau /Goan*, marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is said to have been far more usual than marriage with the father's sister's daughter. The terminology for these relatives seems however to show that in the past marriage with both the mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's daughter was allowed, and the behavior towards these relatives confirms this. In addition, I have illustrations of both kinds of cross cousin marriage in genealogies. 582 177 184

The duties and privileges of relatives. The chief consideration in the behavior of Nama to one another is the relative ages of the people concerned. Respect for age is inculcated in every possible way, and the whole social organization of the people is an illustration of the fact. In the family deference and respect must always be paid to elders. Thus, of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honored place and the first voice in any debate. Family feeling is strong, however, and brothers generally hold together. The behavior proper to brothers is due to all those people called by the name "brother," and little difference is made by the fact 602 [795]

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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602 that they are often sons of fathers who are brothers and not sons of one man. Similarly, all women who are called "sisters" must 602 be treated as sisters, and it would have been in the old days a most 582 heinous offense for a man to have married such a woman. It is an indication of the complete transformation of the organization of the people that has taken place owing to Christianization and European influence, that the marriage of direct first cousins is now relatively frequent. In the old days the behavior of a brother 602 and a sister was very strictly regulated. As tiny children they 593 ran about together, but once they were grown up, they had to avoid one another completely. A brother was not allowed to speak to a sister directly, he must never be alone with her in the hut, he must never speak of her except in the most respectful terms. A sister was a *tàras*, that is, a person to be respected, not to be spoken to or of lightly. In the old days an oath by a sister was one of the greatest oaths a man could take, and a sister could generally be relied on to stop any fight in which her brother was taking part. The brother is said to be shy (*sou*) in the presence of his sister, and the same is true of all the men a woman would call [583] brother. Should one of these men use bad language in her presence a woman could demand a sheep from him with which to purify herself of the pollution. It is a *gei !Keis*, a great offense. Even at the present day a man will not sleep in his sister's hut when he visits her as a married woman. The eldest sister of a man is his *Gei Tàras*, his great respected one.

602 Quite different is the behavior of a man to those of his own 582 generation whom he calls *//Nàrin*. These women are his companions, his playmates. All is possible with them, free speech and horse play. Even sexual intercourse would not have been considered wrong. It was frequently one of these women that a man married in the old days.

604 The relation of a woman to her brother's children was one of great restraint. Just as the father himself had to behave with much circumspection towards this woman, so his children had to treat her with the greatest deference and respect.

The relation of a man to his sister's children was one of the greatest indulgence and good will. A boy could do almost any-

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602 It will be seen from the account given of the kinship system and the "behavior patterns" accompanying kinship terms that the type of behavior which is expected of a person by another is directly indicated by the kinship term in use between them, so that a knowledge of these relationships is essential for an understanding of the whole moral regulation of the lives of the people.

619 There is just one other subject on which a few remarks may be appropriate. The relation of the tribes towards one another has been throughout the history of the Hottentots most capricious. On the one hand, one finds a great deal of intermarriage taking place between those tribes which happen to be near one another, and a great deal of visiting between the members of families so connected is always going on. Yet, on the other hand, there has never been sufficient feeling of solidarity between the tribes, for the Nama, or for the Hottentots in general, to organize themselves against a common enemy even when the danger was exceedingly great. Always one tribe has been played off against the others by all other peoples with whom they have come in conflict. There are many instances in their history in which two tribes have made an agreement with one another for some common object, but such agreements have always come to naught. There is even an interesting document,[14] signed by most of the Nama and Orlam chiefs, agreeing to sink all differences and to unite against the common enemy, the Herero, but the agreement was never actually put into practice. So the Nama, and the Hottentots in general, are coming to be a people whose history lies all in the past, whose tribal organization is totally disrupted, and whose distinctive culture is becoming a thing unknown even to themselves, because of their failure to hold together, and to face the incoming cultures with a strong feeling of group solidarity.

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[14] Drawn up in 1858. Translated in the Administrator's Report for S. W. Africa, 1922.

marriage and what should be contributed to the reception: or the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying "yes" but in an action. The young man bashfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other. 584

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal "separation-period" sets in. The engaged couple dare not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents. 585

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies. 585 178

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no means that of the devoted servant of the man. According to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions. 562 593 [342 423] 586 602 595

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves so much in the expectant mother that 843